Conceptual Journeys: Using Qualitative Processes in an Inter-cultural Exploration of Place.

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Abstract: *Creating spaces of awareness which enable understanding about the ways people respond to place in an intercultural context is a rich and rewarding process. The knowledge-discovery journey can involve different modes of transport and multiple and various routes. The qualitative vehicle, although soft in its steering and often circular in direction, provides opportunities to explore landscapes that one rarely sees in single trajectory intellectual travel. This paper, using hermeneutics and phenomenology with a particular focus on metaphors and tropes, will describe a number of conceptual journeys related to the experience of migration. It will explore the difficult state of being 'between place' and how this becomes manifest in real places. The journeys show that only by traveling circuitously can one arrive at a multi-facetted form of awareness.*

Introduction

Understanding inter-culturalism is becoming increasingly urgent in the early 21st century where information technology has enabled a globalised form of communication, within which 'spin doctors' manipulate the conceptualization of issues and images of people. In this era of misinformation, rapidly and pervasively disseminated, research which delves deeply into intercultural human concerns is critically important.

For researchers, this means leaving the spaces of certainty associated with Cartesian 'knowledge' and entering a confusing 'thirdspace' of liminality, interpenetration and negotiations [1]. In intercultural research, this space questions Cartesian binaries such as 'mainstream' and 'marginal'. Instead it is a space with porous boundaries where there is slippage between concepts and a prevalence of contradictions requiring constant negotiation. This is not a safe research place. To research in this space involves taking methodological 'risks'.

As qualitative researchers, even rigorous forms of coding and triangulation can only address certain aspects of intercultural research. To work inter-culturally, one has to deal with a double subjective, one's own subjectivity and the subjectivity within other cultural groups. One has to leave a well-lit research space where, through immersion in data, one can see emerging patterns, and enter the black box of the psyche. To shed light in such a space, one can be assisted by the creative skills of artists, reflections embedded in art criticism, as well as profound but often contradictory arguments of philosophers.

Into this already 'slippery' space of understanding, I add the elusive concept of place. Why is 'place' an elusive concept? There are numerous differing approaches to 'place'. Many conflate 'place' with 'space' determined through a combination of quantitative and qualitative research processes[2], whereas others distinguish 'place' from 'space' by exploring empathetic engagements with physical 'space' and thus defining emotive 'place'[3]. In contrast, others focus on the mystical and metaphoric qualities of 'place'[4].

In this paper, the focus is on the intercultural dimensions of place. Although this is a vitally important area of research for indigenous Australians, this paper is limited to Australian migrants, using the experience of migration between two places, a 'home' country and a new country, as a way to gain intercultural insights. I am basing my discussion on ten years of researching migration and place in Australia and I will be drawing from particular schools of philosophy, human geography, psychology and art. My main vehicle will be language, particularly the everyday language used by the people who participated in the research.

The paper is presented in three sections. First, a number of challenging aspects of inter-culturalism are discussed, in particular the confusing dimensions of 'thirdspace'. This section seeks to show that intercultural research, particularly as it relates to place, if it is to be inclusive, cannot rest solely within tried and tested methodologies. Answers derived this way will always be partial. This position is explained by using two examples of my research, the first, a broad comparative study of an inner city suburb of Sydney, where qualitative coding methods were used and second, a deeper hermeneutic study using one cultural group and the ways their place values have been translated to Australia.

To begin this discussion, the turbulent travel in intercultural research is considered by looking at the multifaceted ways research can explore place, including sense of place, belonging, knowing one's place and the cultural complexity found in Australian places.

Turbulent Travel [5], Negotiating Contested Values.

Sense of Place

'Sense of place' in Australia is a highly contested concept [6]. Traditionally, research into sense of place has been located in cultural landscape studies, initially within cultural geography where sense of place was linked to places rich in the history of human contact[7]. More recently sense of place has involved studies on the meanings embedded in landscapes/place where places are read as texts[8].

Sense of place has also been conflated with aesthetics of landscape derived from the ancient concept of genius loci or spirit of place where superhuman forces are seen to have created places of awe and wonder [9], a position which has been challenged by the new critical cultural geographers drawing from the philosophical works of Heidegger. His writings about everyday life or 'being-in-the-world' indicated that humble and familiar places were seen to embody an equally profound and significant sense of place [10]. Within phenomenological and hermeneutic traditions, the idea of '*the inseparability of persons from the places they inhabit*' [11] is a particularly important theme in Heidegger's work.

Other philosophers, such as Bourdieu, Habermas, and Riceour, and cultural geographers such as Lefebvre and Relph likewise have written extensively about our everyday lives in terms of valued places[12].

If sense of place can include such divergent phenomena as spectacular landscapes, places which are rich in history and heritage as well as places that reflect our everyday lived world, how then do we encompass this spectrum of values when we undertake inter-cultural research?

Belonging

Another way of thinking about conceptual journeys related to place is to consider the phenomenon of 'belonging'. How do we belong in a place? How does a sense of belonging persist in a rapidly changing world? Again philosophers such as Heidegger and Bourdieu, have tried to explicate concepts such as Heidegger's hermeneutic exploration of 'being-in-the–world' and Bourdieu's structural-semiotic analysis of the traditions of *habitus* as ways to explain a sense of belonging or dwelling[13]. Today many writers about urbanism[14] consider concepts of 'belonging in place' urgently need to be understood because 'belonging' has become a confused concept under the homogeneity of globalization, to which can be added plight of recent refugees fleeing their homelands in order to find a new place in which to dwell. Thus the concept of 'belonging' is particularly pertinent to inter-cultural studies.

Qualitative researchers also have issues about belonging. To understand the world of the people we research, it is suggested that we need to participate in their world. Ellen Herda, in her book *Research Conversations and Narrative* claims '*Participation requires belonging*'[15]. We need to dwell in the life-worlds of our participants and in the process change our language from 'they' to 'we'.

Knowing One's Place.

Within the concept of belonging, there is also the trope of knowing one's place. In place studies this usually involves identifying the qualities that we value in our localities; however other aspects of the trope include experiencing marginality or individuals searching for identity through deep introspective journeys about place. For many, such internal journeys can be filled with fear as much as they can be safe and familiar; topophilia and topophobia co-existing in disconcerting and uncanny ways. The sense of the 'uncanny' in place has become the focus of recent writing, re-awakening Jungian concept of archetypes[16].

Individual Journeys through Jungian Archetypes

Places that evoke Jungian archetypes were explored by a British landscape architect, Geoffrey Jellico, in the 1970s in an attempt to address the cultural relativism associated with the aesthetics of place [17]. He felt there were layers of perception within humans that were universal and therefore transcended cultural backgrounds. He suggested that we respond to places at a number of levels in the psyche, each related to human evolutionary development [18]. The deepest level, Jellico's 'primal level', is supposedly our basic response to landscape, exemplified by rocks and water. Above this is the 'forester level'

which Jellico suggests is identified with the time our ancestors spent in the sub-tropical forests. He argues that this accounts for all that is sensuous and tactile in our appreciation of landscape, including the love of flowers.

The third level Jellico called the 'hunting level'. He suggests that this relates to the human evolution from the African savannah and accounts for our liking of parklands and wide-open grassed areas. Above this sits the 'settler level' which represents the transition from hunter-gatherer to an agricultural existence and accounts for our love of order in the landscape such as orchards and agricultural fields. While the post-structuralists amongst us may be skeptical at these unreconstructed deductions, the migrant conversations in my research revealed evidence of each of these four levels. Unsolicited, migrants speak longingly of the flowering trees in their homelands, their love of open parks in Australia and how imperative it was to start a garden of ordered rows of food producing plants on arrival in Australia.

Finally there is the fifth level, Jellico's 'voyager level'. Strongly influenced by Freud and Jung, Jellico maintained that humans are all, to varying degrees, on a voyage of discovery within themselves – an internal voyage to know oneself and because of this humans are drawn to mysterious landscapes. Often places that have great meaning for us as individuals relate to places of our childhood, as a result we may not be fully conscious of why a smell or a sound can trigger a positive or negative response to a place. This becomes particularly complex if we try to understand this concept inter-culturally. It raises confusing responses to place for migrants. This is explored further in some of the migrants' stories presented here.

Because this theory was based on Jungian archetypes, representing a collective unconscious, it was assumed that they would be applicable across cultures however, Jellico's environmental determinism is similar to a number of environmental determinist theories emerged in the 1970s–1980s [19], all of which have subsequently been questioned for their positivist simplicity by post-structuralists. Despite their naivety, I present them here because of the renewed interest in Jung and the 'uncanny', the power of metaphor exemplified by artists such as Imants Tillers' work such as his painting *Diaspora*, and the rich exploration of metaphor in contemporary psychoanalytic theory , in particular Julia Kristeva's *Strangers to Ourselves* [20].

Contemporary psychoanalytic theory has also informed much of Bhabha's position on post-colonialism, in particular Lacan's account of identity formation. In response to globalisation, Bhabha's politically informed psychoanalytical critique of post-colonialism, using concepts of hybridity, liminality, and mimicry to deconstruct cultural identity, becomes particularly useful in inter-cultural research [21]. Hybridity, liminality and mimicry are all evident in the places migrants create in the new country.

Knowing One's Place through Collective Journeys

In contrast to introspective individual journeys about place, many communities, in response to the homogenizing forces of Late Capitalism, seek to know their local places collectively. Since the 1980s, organisations such as Common Ground have worked with

groups in Britain using artists to assist communities to understand their collective subjective relationships to place. Their projects show the pivotal role that artists can play by exploring abstract and metaphoric representations of place. Qualitative researchers, despite the encouragement from Heidegger and Gadamer [22], still struggle to have the role of the artist accepted as a legitimate aspect of research.

The Common Ground projects draw from long histories in particular landscapes, often evoking ancient land rituals. This is true for many countries such as Britain, Europe, China, Vietnam, to name a few examples of places where people's connection with the land has been continuous, despite wars and occupation.

Cultural Complexity and Place

Knowing one's place becomes much more complex, however, when one is dealing with colonized places or places generated by successive waves of different migrant groups. In colonized/occupied places such as Australia, New Zealand, Canada, the occupiers, unlike the indigenous owners, do not have ancient or continuous connections with place. Their conceptual journeys about place tend to be bi-cultural where there is a sense of place related to the 'fatherland' or 'mother' country and another sense of place related to the new place. How long does this persist? Until the 1970s in Australia, four generations of Australian children were brought up with the childhood literature of England evoking a strong nostalgia for a place never visited. This is in strong contrast to the original peoples of these countries and their orally-based cultures.

If we continue to focus on Australia, the cultural relationship to place is far more complex than biculturalism. As a country with one of the largest immigration programs in the second half of the 20th century, 21st century Australia has multi-layers of cultural complexity. How do we begin to understand what sense of place means to the many migrant groups who have lived in Australia since the 1940s? How long is a migrant's conceptual journey about place? How long does a migrant occupy the 'space-in-between' places? In this 'thirdspace' of 'betweenness' and hybridity, what kinds of conceptual changes occur as a result of living in the new country? *And more importantly why do we need to know?*

The last question is most important because understanding people and place helps us rethink what is happening in the 21st century world and perhaps provides us with conceptual assistance to research in areas that relate to control of changes to place rather than witnessing after the event the impact on communities and place as a result of globalization. If we could understand more about how we relate to 21st century 'place' – our dwelling environments and where we belong – then perhaps we could come up with new ways of dwelling, such as more humane 'community of strangers' in public places or 'dwelling places of connectedness' in local places [23].

'Wicked Problems' in Cross Cultural Research

Research into these areas needs to draw from the inherent creativity in qualitative processes because these are 'wicked' problems [24]. There are often hidden ambiguities within inter-cultural research, particularly studies about migration.

Nikos Papastergiades during his period as Head of the Centre for Ideas at VCA, stated that in the 21st century '*The experience of movement* [of people] *has produced novel forms of belonging and stimulating shifts in our contemporary culture'* [25]. Unlike the post WWII migration program which has been the focus of much of my research, the significance of migration in 21st century society is different and will not be understood if it is limited to studies of physical movement and social settlement. Studies in this area require re-invigorating qualitative research methods which allow researchers to take more risks conceptually. Papastergiades [26] points out that there is a restlessness in modern society so that the boundaries, or what defines a community, as well as a more general sense of belonging, have changed radically. He argues that we need to understand contemporary cultural journeys in terms of both the movement of people and the 'circulation of symbols' which can often result in cultural displacement [27]. This is Guy Debord's notion of '*the haunting feeling of being at home nowhere*' with all its resonance with the 'uncanny' [28].

Papastergiades'[29] work reflects Bhabha's challenges about simplistic concepts of 'the excluded other' in that he maintains explanations of 20th century migration, for example in Australia, have led to two questionable stereotypes; the migrant as victim and representations of the migrant from a fixed repertoire of stereotypes reflecting places of origin. I support Papastergiades' critique of the concept of 'the migrant as victim', instead I am aware of the high degree of agency and self-determination in migrants arriving in Australia from the 1950s on, despite the assimilationist policies of the host country.

However, I do not dismiss the potency of the culture of the country of origin in determining much of the responses to and making of place in Australia. Again, I will explain how I can justify this position through my research projects. Nevertheless, I agree wholeheartedly with Papastergiades concept of 'cultural transformation' and suggest that concepts of 'thirdspace' or 'space-in-between' is where we can begin to understand such transformations [30]. The issues today, in 2003, contrast with my research in the 1990s on Post WWII migrants because, to quote Papastergiades, '*migration has never been so multidirectional…and the experience of displacement has never been as multidimensional as it is today'* [31].

Papastergiades, like me, talks of the transformative effect of the journey [32]. The journey and the figure of the stranger for many cultural theorists is a metaphor for modernity. As the post-structural literary theorist, Iain Chambers, points out the modern metropolitan figure is the migrant [33]. The metaphor is richly explored by contemporary artists such as Imants Tillers, who exemplifies Papastergiades concept of the artist as '*outriders of the transformation between the local and the global'* [34]. For me, hermeneutic analyses of contemporary art, such as the work of Tillers and Juan Davila as well as Aboriginal artists such as Gordon Bennett, Tracey Moffatt and Lin Onus, are as insightful as the writings of contemporary philosophy. As the art critic, Mary Eagle, says about the Latvian-Australian artist, Imants Tillers,

> *Tillers' art reflects the multi-culturalism of a good many Australians. The artist's Australianness incorporates his Latvian origins. In his dual cultures he is properly Australian. And appropriately he paints the overlays and gaps. …Those who possess more than one culture from childhood find them to be parallel. … Unhampered by epistemology, naturally practical, these children pocket what is useful, employing the language and gestures of their family culture for intimacy, and those of the adopted culture for social manipulation and reasoning. Between cultures there remains a realm of speculation. Neither is susceptible to explanation in terms of the other; and if they have been chosen for special uses, the bicultural experience becomes entangled with personal expression. When they are not interchangeable in experience neither culture can be completely habitable. The first-generation Australian may lack a sense of identity though rich in culture. At some stage of the child's growing up the duality becomes a matter of conscious awareness and the young adult experiences his or her separation from both cultures. In other words, there is a third culture, which is indefinable.*[35]

She suggests that a study of his work indicates this 'third culture'. Our challenge is to find research approaches that can reveal similar liminality.

A Research Question: How Is The Turbulence Of Migration Inscribed In The Landscape?

By using migration studies as a way of understanding inter-culturalism, my research question was 'is the experience of migration inscribed in the landscape?' To return to the metaphor of the journey, Papastergiades[36] questions the focus on migration as having a beginning and end, rather he suggests it is an '*interminable process'* and this is my current research focus on inter-culturalism and place. I see the traces of cultural difference coming through in the place-making of the second generation of migrants in intriguing ways so that thirdspace and hybridity continue. Papastergiades confirms this position in arguing '*It is only when there is a consciousness of this oscillation between different positions and perspectives that hybridity can offer a new understanding of identity*.'[37]

Papastergiades is interested in the political dimension of these issues but in my current research, the focus is on how the fluidity of cultural transformation is intergenerational and intercultural. More specifically, I am interested in how these dynamics are evident in places, public or shared and private space, how old cultures intersect with the new, and what persists and what changes. I see the patronising attitude that old cultures, Europe and Asia, have about a raw new culture, white Australia, and how this subtly influences the second generation of migrants growing up in Australia – alienated and yet from a position of superiority – an inverted position to the stereotypic representation of migrants as an alienated minority.

Through studying migration ' *we have come to appreciate that cultures do not need to be rooted in a given place, that fragments of culture can survive in multiple places, that cultural meanings may leap across generations and transform themselves across the gaps of time*'[38]. The experience of migration and how it is evident beyond vernacular places

deserves deeper study and this is my current research journey. As Papastergiades suggests and this paper shows there is a certain '*resilience of the old in the form of the new…the unconscious repetition of previous habits in current practices, the subtle translation of traditional values in contemporary norms'*, these are the tantalizing research threads to be followed[39].

Globalization and the 'deterritorialization of culture'[40] pose new questions for research on migration and 'place'. Papastergiades suggests that although '*representations of place and the constitution of social identity were central to conventional theories of culture'*, however '*what is obscured by this perspective are the porous boundaries between groups, the diffuse notions of identity, the deterritorialized links…and the globalized patterns of communication and the hybrid process of cultural transformation'*[41]. He argues for the recognition of flows between cultures and groups. As a challenge to current research, he states ' *classical ethnographic definitions of culture now seem inadequate to the task of explaining the current flows between diasporic and dominant cultural formations*.'[42] There is a complexity of translation and exchange that operates at both the local and global levels. He suggests '*the key task for cultural theorists today is to develop more relational modes of thinking through the politics of cultural transformation*.'[43]

Papastergiades argues for '*the doubling of cultures'* and states *'this attention to the slippage and non-correspondence between cultural codes does not suggest that the process of exchange is undermined by difference, but rather that the remainder of a difference stimulates a reach towards unexpected horizons'*[44]. His comments about the '*dynamism within displacement'*[45] are richly borne out by the media, literature and artists. But it is his question '*How can traditions mutate in order to be meaningful across generations which are separated not only in a temporal perspective but also in vastly different relationships to place?'*[46] that most challenges me. This has been my most recent conceptual journey.

Journeys as Research Exploration – language, cross-culturalism and translation

Journeys as a metaphor for research exploration, particularly inter-cultural research, raise important issues about language and translation. Qualitative researchers have mined language as the vehicle for understanding. Through work with migrant groups, I found one worked with language differently. One became familiar with the cadences and rhythms of a language in translation and the particular figures of speech or tropes used by different cultural groups. But it is the significance of discourse and narrative that is essential to bring out in inter-cultural research. The 'throwness' that Heidegger [47] describes becomes even more important if one is trying to communicate in a second language and from a different cultural background. Drawing from Heidegger's belief that humans dwell in language, Herda points out that '*Language brings worlds into being and, in bringing forth a particular world, the relationships among everything in that world are disclosed'*[48]. In the act of speaking, two concurrent phenomena occur, the actual utterance which is a linguistic communication but there is also the person's 'internal history' or the layers of self that shape the way the utterance is delivered [49]. Inter-cultural communication requires some understanding of this internal history. Just as

in psychoanalytic and contemporary art theories, it is the use of metaphors and tropes that provides views into such internal histories.

Translation raises another set of issues. Papastergiades claims there are important limits to cultural translation in the contemporary globalized world. Despite this, *'Cultures make sense of the world predominantly through a system of meanings that operate in language'*[50]. Language however, is not stable so understanding has to occur in 'contact zones' of contradictions and uneven exchange[51]. Translation is not the mere communication of meaning from one language to another rather it can be seen as a '*dynamic interaction within which conceptual boundaries are expanded and residual differences respected'*[52]. The translation presented in this paper is a research journey investigating the translation of culture and how it is manifest in 'place'.

The research projects described, undertaken throughout the 1990s, sought to understand whether the process of migration was inscribed in the landscape and if so, whether the people who made such inscriptions saw them as their heritage. The research process involved two major journeys, first a sweeping horizontal one, a comparative study, then a deep vertical journey penetrating many layers of meaning.

The Horizontal Journey.

The horizontal journey was circuitous and a number of people, members of the Greek, Lebanese, Vietnamese communities, traveled with me. The journey is described as horizontal because, as a comparative study, it covered a wide area, with continuous loops backwards and forwards. The journey was undertaken in a well-tested qualitative research vehicle, i.e. focus groups and coded textual analyses. It began by determining what mainstream culture valued in places. This was done through an examination of all the heritage studies done by local government since it became a formal planning requirement in NSW in 1980[53]. A review of a decade of studies plus an intensive survey of LGA planners which provide an 80% response rate indicated that the only understanding of heritage by the early 1990s was an Anglo-Celtic one, with some acknowledgement of Aboriginal and natural environment heritage, these two being linked together. But no mention of other cultural groups was evident in the documents or the survey responses. A comparative study in one inner city Municipality in Sydney, Marrickville, renown for its cultural complexity since the 1940s, was then undertaken[54]. This involved using the heritage study undertaken by heritage planning consultants and its themes, *Process of Change evident in diversity of residential heritage, retail heritage, industrial heritage and views and landmarks* [55], and worked through these themes with three migrant groups who represented a time line of migration; 1950s, the Greeks, 1970s, the Lebanese, and 1980s, the Vietnamese. Through a process of semi-structured discussions, the heritage categories were reconsidered in terms of their lived experience of Marrickville, which was the experience of being a migrant in an Australian city[56].

A cultural landscape reading of the migrant experience in Marrickville supports Lowenthal's observation that in Australia, heritage is represented less by '*generational continuity'* than by '*tableaux of discrete moments'*[57]. Another contribution to understanding comes from Relph's work on different levels of empathy associated with

places. Phenomenologically, the experiences of place overlap and interpenetrate which, Relph suggests, can be analysed by exploring three components of place, first, the static setting, then the activities in the place and lastly, the meanings attributed to the place[58]. Marrickville provided the static setting, whereas the life-world experiences of the Greek, Lebanese and Vietnamese migrants living in Marrickville provided insights into activities in the place. The phenomenological process of working with descriptions given by different migrant groups allows the '*unselfconscious intentionality'* involved in place-making to be understood[59]. Finally, the reflective discourse of migrant groups provides an understanding of meanings and values associated with these places.

The process began with the earlier migrants, a Greek group, all of whom had come to Australia in the 1950s and had resided in Marrickville. The textual data derived from transcriptions of the group discussions were coded into themes which were subsequently validated by the group over three meetings. The phenomena embedded in the experience of migration fell into four broad themes; perceptions of the new country, being a migrant, the process of settling-in, and emerging place values in Australia. The themes and associated phenomena, all of which were linked to places, are briefly summarized in order to bring out aspects of the points made earlier, in particular the contradictions embedded in concepts of marginality, the unselfconscious expressions of *habitus*, and the difficult concept of 'belonging'.

Perceptions of the New Country

The theme, 'perceptions of the new country', consisted of a number of phenomena which were seen as pertinent to place values of Greek migrants. They are summarized as 'heritage as a pioneering spirit' and 'New Worlds as lands of opportunity'. The phenomenon of imagined communities explored by Anderson and Gale[60] has particular resonance here, where members of the Greek group describe Australia as an imagined community and themselves as imagined pioneers in an emerging nation[61].

Being a Migrant in Australia in the 1950s

The second major theme emerging from the life-world descriptions by the Greek group relates to the range of phenomena associated with being a migrant in Australia in the 1950s. These include 'experiencing the language barrier', 'hardship and humiliation', and 'experiences resulting from enforced assimilation'.

The Language Barrier

The phenomenon of being isolated by language is true for many migrants. Different members of the Greek group described how the isolation of the language barrier persisted long after first arrival. Descriptions of the value of Marrickville emerged as a place where one could speak Greek in shops and in the street and feel free from the sense of isolation. It would appear the sense of stigma associated with marginality was eased in enclaves where the language of the marginal group was the dominant one[62].

Hardship and Humiliation

Many of the group spoke of the hardship of having to leave everything behind, starting with nothing; and working long hours in factories regardless of qualifications. The phenomenon of 'humiliation' is closely associated with the phenomenon of hardship. The image and stigma of marginality was compounded by working and living in poor conditions. As Shields[63] points out, this stigma destabilises the migrants' former sense of identity in their home country.

The research issue was how such experiences of humiliation and hard work could be expressed as place values? While Relph's 'empathetic insideness' allows for emotional involvements with places, it is not clear whether this includes negative emotions[64]. A more pertinent representation of these experiences lies with Low's typology of place attachments where negative experiences of place fit into her '*linkage through loss of land or destruction of continuity'* [65].

Assimilation

The phenomenon of assimilation is highly complex. All the migrants of the 1950s experienced enforced assimilation due to government policies[66]. As a result, the places associated with experiences related to this policy form part of the 1950-1960s migrants' Australian cultural heritage. Interestingly, the migrants did not perceive themselves as assimilated, rather they felt acclimatised. There was much discussion in the group about the pressure on Greeks to become '*New Australians'* and forget their Greek origins. They revealed an implicit resistance to the concept of assimilation.

Their comments provide an interesting insight into the fact that, for this group, white Australians were also seen as migrants and therefore to the Greeks, Australians had a similar 'existential outsider' status in the new country [67]. Allied with this, the sense of frontierism, which the Greeks considered to be a shared phenomenon with Australians, was an important aspect of place-making for the migrants of the 1950s. If the mainstream Australians were also migrants and equal partners at the frontier, this suggests an intriguing paradox about who is in 'positional superiority'[68].

The phenomenon of assimilation is highly complex, but for the purposes of this study, official assimilation resulted in migrants concealing places which reflected their different cultural practices. Drawing from Bourdieu's concept of '*habitus*' which argues that '*spatial practices are cultural structures'* [69], the assimilation process involved the migrant groups in a process where they came to understand the *habitus* and its *dispositions* of the mainstream culture and the required codes of spatial behaviour in the context of social situations in the 1950s. It was not until the 1990s, however, that the mainstream culture became interested in understanding the *habitus* of migrant groups, because despite the hegemony of the Australian society in the 1950s, the everyday habits of different migrant groups persisted.

Settling In: Establishing Essentials

The third major theme, settling in to the new country, is most significant in terms of making places. How people affiliate themselves and adapt to new situations involves processes which transform 'space' into 'place' by embedding culturally meaningful

symbols into shared environments[70] The discourse about their lived-in-the-world experiences revealed that for the Greek group there was a particular sequence of phenomena which reflects attempts to re-instate their *habitus.* Their cultural structure or *habitus* generated the impetus to make the unfamiliar Australian environment into a version of their everyday life in Greece, however, *habitus* is not only durable, it is also malleable [71]. As a result the qualities of everyday life became mediated in the process of acclimatization, forming new hybridities. Hermeneutically, psychoanalytic theory adds another form of understanding. Drawing from Giddens' theory that infant anxiety is contained by parental routines, establishing familiar routines in the new country may have helped contain the anxiety of being displaced [72].

From discourses about the process of settling in, the sequence involved three sub-themes, 'establishing essentials', 'sustaining cultural life', 'creating new places' and their associated phenomena. These are not explored in detail here other than to indicate that a rich tapestry of places, both hidden and obvious, were revealed that told the story of being a Greek migrant in Australia in the 1950s. Migrant descriptions of these places often reflected Jellico's Jungian archetypes, but none of these places were indicated in the Marrickville Heritage Study.

Emerging Place Values in the New Country

The final major theme consisted of a number of phenomena, each of which is highly reflective, revealing the complexity of place attachment for migrants in the host country. Low indicates that for place attachment to occur there must be a symbolic relationship between the group and the place [73]. In terms of the Greeks in Marrickville although there are shared experiences in places, it would appear that there was an ambiguous attitude to attachment. Phenomena associated with this theme include 'Greek heritage as a gift to Australian culture', 'earlier Greek pioneers', and the phenomenon of 'belonging'.

Greek Heritage as a Gift to Australian Culture

Hage points out that 'national space' can contain accumulated capital of many nationalities [74]. The phenomenon of Greek heritage as a gift to Australian culture was apparent in the consistent discourse on pride about being Greek. Greg, a member of the group, pointed out that although there have been important Australian influences on him, the Greeks have influenced Australians. He expanded on this by pointing out that the Greeks changed their houses, changed the suburbs they lived in and created a more cosmopolitan atmosphere and that now Marrickville had '*the spirit of the Greeks'* [75]. Such a trope is laden with significance and deserves a return research journey to explore this in depth.

Belonging

The phenomenon, 'belonging', reveals a dilemma for all migrants. Divided loyalties immediately become obvious when migrants are asked about whether evidence of their presence in Australia is sufficiently important to be considered Australian-Greek heritage. Greg commented that while there is a Greek heritage within Australia, it depends on how '*deep*' it is[76]. The issue of whether one 'belongs' in Australia in a

Heideggerian sense was clearly unresolved. As Chambers indicates, being a migrant involves a discontinuous state of being and a 'journey of restless interrogation' [77].

This divided sense of belonging suggests concepts of *habitus* are more complex than making the unfamiliar familiar. The state of being-in-the-world as an 'intercultural' persists, possibly over generations. The question, whether the places discussed have enough value to the Greek community to be conserved as heritage, highlights the complexity embedded in phenomenological concepts of time. Places may not be valued today but may be valued in the future and visa versa. Heidegger sees the past, present, and future together which he calls the 'authentic moment'[78]. In intercultural work, this is an important lead for further research journeys. It is a hermeneutically rich field of enquiry.

Changing times result in different attitudes to migrants. The horizontal research journey included migrants arriving in the 1970s, the Lebanese, and 1980s, the Vietnamese. These comparisons were not only intercultural, they also revealed what is common for all migrants and what varies as a result of changing attitudes within the mainstream culture.

The Lebanese in Marrickville.

The Lebanese group provided invaluable insights into the migrant experience for children. Most Lebanese have come to Australia in one of three waves; the 1890s, the 1950s, or the 1970s. The 1970s third wave resulted in a massive increase in the Lebanese in Australia. They were refugees, predominantly Muslim, who were fleeing civil war. Many migrants in Sydney came from Tripoli and the surrounding villages in the north, gravitating towards Canterbury where a Sun'ni mosque had been established in a converted house. There was also a small community who settled in Marrickville. Typically Muslim Lebanese came as large inter-generational families. The group who participated in this study is characteristic of the Lebanese migration experience at this time.

Arriving in Marrickville with large families created different migration experiences from the 1950s Greek group who tended to arrive singly or as young couples. Places reflecting the Lebanese migration experience included schools, local swimming pools and local parks. None of the places identified by the Lebanese as important were included in the Marrickville Heritage Study. Phenomenologically, the discourse about life-world experiences as Lebanese migrants confirmed similar themes to those of the Greek migrants, namely 'perceptions of the new country', 'being a migrant', 'settling in', and 'emerging place values in Australia', however in this group issues of being a migrant child were able to be explored.

Perceptions of the New Country

Expecting Manhattan

The phenomenological perceptions of a 'First World' country reveal some interesting contradictions about who patronises whom. Just as the Greeks in the 1950s had certain perceptions about Australia which were dispelled soon after arrival, so too did the young Lebanese. They expected to find a Manhattan-like city of high-rise buildings. Instead

from the plane they saw a low-density sprawling city of cottages with red tiled roofs. A member of the focus group, Hassan, arriving at age 15, expressed his disappointment. '*I was disappointed, which is true. Because I am coming to an industrial country, I am going to see Manhattan or something.'* Whereas Ali and the others were more intrigued. Ali states,

> *My impression is when I first landed in Australia, when I am still up in the sky – because I came from* [a] *city and I was living in high flats, I said " Gees, this is meant to be an old city – you know- you see where is the, where is the buildings?"* [group laughter]. *'It is like a village!' Hala exclaimed. Ali continued 'When you think of Sydney, you think "Ah, Australia, this is a modern country – straight away you think high-rises, flats and apartments and all that" – and I was so surprised'* [79].

Beirut and Tripoli are compact cities made up of 10-12 storey apartments and commercial buildings. This was the group's concept of an 'old city' whereas essentialist imaginings of modern industrial countries appear to be modelled on North American cities of high-rise buildings. Often imagined communities are seen as 'exoticized other'[80]. There are aspects of such exoticizing in the way Sam, an older cousin, saw Sydney. '*The thing I remember when I came. I was in the aeroplane – 11.00am – I can see really beautiful things – the greenness of Australia …you feel you are living in a garden – honest*' [81]. The phenomenon of Australia as an imagined community, living in a tropical paradise, is consistently evident in discussions with migrants about perceptions of Australia. Inter-culturally, such perceptions are intriguing as they contrast strongly with mainstream representations of Australia as a 'sunburnt country' or a 'harsh dry land'.

Being Migrants as Adolescents

As with the Greek migrants, the second theme that emerged from the Lebanese group's life-world experiences related to phenomena associated with 'being migrants in Australia'. For this group, however, phenomena reflected young adolescent experiences in the 1970s.

Being an Adolescent Lebanese Girl: the Language Barrier.

The Lebanese group were predominantly adolescents and children belonging to large families when they arrived. The young adolescents who came to Marrickville were expected to learn English quickly so that they could act as interpreters for their parents. The expectation that children would learn English at school and thus teach their parents was an early immigration policy of the Australian Government [82]. Memories of adolescence reveal how distressing it was to be a migrant. They entered high school speaking only Lebanese which made it difficult for them to keep up with other students and their plight was compounded by the fact that their parents were unable to assist them with their homework. As adolescent girls, Zawat and Inaam described their high school experiences. Zawat reminisced.

> *We dress nicely to* [go] *to school – people teasing you, pulling my hair. You didn't know what to say. I used to cry a lot. But my brother*[Ali] *used to push me all the time* [saying] *"one day you have to take your kids to the*

doctor. There are things you have to learn." I wanted to stay home and not go back.

Inaam added,

> *…When we went to high school it was really hard because we couldn't understand the language very well and yet they gave us all the assignments to do and all that - and we didn't know what we were doing - and like, there wasn't anyone that could help us or that we could turn to. I didn't finish high school because I found it really hard to struggle, because of my language. To be in high school, even kids that are born here, they find it hard. Imagine the people that didn't understand the language. I used to hate it … I left school* [83].

School experiences for migrant girls often involved the loss of one's name. Eva Hoffman describes this experience for migrant girls at school,

> … these new appellations, which we ourselves can not yet pronounce, are not us. They are identification tags, disembodied signs pointing to objects that happen to be my sister and myself. We walk to our seats, into a room of unknown faces, with names that make us strangers to ourselves [84].

The schools where the young Lebanese experienced such hardship and humiliation have similar social heritage significance to the factories for Greek migrants of the 1950s. They are heritage sites laden with memories of pain. Interpreting these experiences can be informed by psychoanalytic theory, in particular Erikson's notion of 'trust'. Erickson maintained that people pass through a series of transitions or 'identity crises' which can only be resolved through *'synthesizing cultural contingencies into new patterns of self, trust and meaning'*[85]. He saw society as essentially beneficial for self-definition, but the tensions and confused filial power relations raise more complex issues for migrant children and adolescents.

Adolescents not only had to deal with the pressure of fulfilling the Immigration Department's policy of rapidly mastering English and bringing it into the home, they also had to conform to strict family protocols. The girls were expected to do home-duties, act as interpreters for their mothers as well as assist when their mothers needed medical help. Shopping was often difficult because their mothers were accustomed to the practice of bartering. Young Lebanese girls were caught between hostile Australian shop assistants who considered bartering an insult and their mothers who were confused about the different shopping protocols. Muslim Lebanese girls existed in a strict culture where they were not allowed to go out alone, so recreation tended to be restricted to family picnics and taking their younger siblings to local small parks.

Being an Adolescent Lebanese Girl: Young Motherhood.

As a result of school difficulties and their relatively restricted lives, girls left school early and worked in family-owned shops until they made early marriages and started having children. The local neighbourhood and baby health centre became a place where young women could meet. Initially as adolescents, they used the small lending library of

Lebanese books in the centre. As young mothers, they joined existing Greek knitting and sewing clubs, also in the centre. Zawat explained,

> *… we used to come here [the centre] – I mean all the women and get the kids like a playgroup and we used to do sewing, knitting. But [it] was for the Greeks not the Lebanese … I used to come here, twice a week … But now they don't have it because the Greeks didn't come and we lost it'*[86].

Descriptions of how young Lebanese women followed Greek women bring out Pratt's concept of intersecting grids of difference. Pratt claims that places are not bounded, but permeable. She points out that the desire to map place as bounded ignores the fact that places inter-connect over time. As a result, she is suspicious about mapping cultures onto place, because multiple cultures can inhabit a single place both at the same time or sequentially. Pratt argues that there are multiple grids of difference with complex and varied links between place and identity formation [87].

Being an Adolescent Lebanese Boy: School Harassment.

Phenomena associated with being a Lebanese boy in Marrickville in the 1970s included similar language difficulties and similar discrimination. Fred described his introduction to high school in Marrickville.

> *At school hardly anyone speaks your language – only three or four people and they are all in different classes – other kids, they all had long hair. I had short hair – they start picking on me. First day* [they] *picked a fight of my shoes with high heels. They weren't in fashion here. Four to five picked on them* –[I] *slapped him* –[they say I] *fight like a woman.* [They] *hit my head on the locker… only stay at school three months* [88].

Fred's story, like Inaam's and Zawat's, is painful but the pain is deeper than physical taunts. Richard Rodriguez, a US migrant from Mexico, describes how the process of going to school and learning English, the public language, meant the loss of his private and intimate home language.

> Once I learned the public language, it would never again be easy for me to hear intimate family voices. More and more of my days were spent hearing words. But that may only be a way of saying that the day I raised my hand in class and spoke loudly to an entire roomful of faces, my childhood started to end [89].

These descriptions add further weight to schools as heritage sites of social significance, showing how migrant adolescents suffered hardship, humiliation and profound displacements associated with being 'between language' [90].

Phenomena related to adolescent leisure for boys were different in that they had more freedom in their leisure time. Interestingly, the swimming pool became a gathering place for young male Lebanese adolescents. Sam and Ali explained the significance of Marrickville Pool for Lebanese men and boys.

> *Marrickville swimming pool is really- is really - heritage for us. Because when we came in 1977, a large group of youth came at the same time … and*

> *they came to Marrickville… to the area surrounding this swimming pool. And there were at least fifty young male people go there at a time. Marrickville Pool was the Lebanese pool, really! … It is a heritage thing … the Marrickville Pool. Bye the way, it used to be the Lebanese Pool, now it is … the Indo-Chinese Pool … Each generation* [of migrants] *they will enjoy this little swimming pool* [91].

This discussion brings out pleasures that can occur as a result of difference. It also highlights the continuity embedded in many migrant places. Pratt's notion of grids of difference in time are confirmed by the young Lebanese women following the Greek women in their use of the neighbourhood centre and Lebanese boys being replaced by Vietnamese boys in the use of Marrickville pool.

At the time of this research, none of the places that were important to the migrant experience for adolescent Lebanese in Marrickville were listed in the Marrickville Heritage Study. Understanding how the experience of migration is embedded in meanings of place is complex in that it involves the interactions generated by both the culture of the country of origin and the culture of the host country at the time of migration. This inevitably includes children, adolescents and adults.

The horizontal journey resulted in an interesting typology of places which describe migration to Australia, however understanding intercultural values about place are much more complex than generic categories. As Herda points out in her discussion about *Research Conversations and Narrative*, qualitative approaches to research such as grounded theory, ethnography, and case histories where language is used to present life worlds is essentially located in logical positivism. It is a Cartesian approach which presumes that law-like generalizations will be discovered in the data and that these can be the basis of deductive explanations and predictions[92]. Through Grounded Theory I was able to saturate the categories of phenomena so that I could deduce that they were significant. From my research I could say that there were places in the urban landscape which reflected the experience of migration to Australia, but such conclusions seemed to be somewhat brittle.

As a result a second research journey was undertaken. This journey, called a vertical journey, was undertaken to gain a deeper, culturally-specific understanding of how culture is transformed in the new country. My challenge was to find a way to interpret migrant heritage as living heritage through a deeper engagement using hermeneutics.

The Vertical Journey

Unlike the horizontal journey, this deep journey, in the best Humanities tradition, produces as many questions as it does answers. It is clear that understanding place values derived from the experience of migration is not easy, particularly as there is a risk of essentializing both the concept and the cultural groups. The comparative study was effective in drawing out phenomena and associated places, however if hermeneutic analyses are to have depth, the essentializing tendency to equate 'phenomena' with 'things' in place studies needs to be scrutinized.

Using hermeneutics as a form of research investigation is particularly pertinent when meanings encountered are not immediately understandable. In the first journey, phenomena were derived from people's unstructured descriptions of their experiences. These phenomena were then used heuristically to show relationships between people, experience and place comparatively. The second journey is concerned with a deeper understanding of how cultural continuity is evident in the migration experience.

This journey could be described as a form of 'gleaning' meanings[93] where the focus was solely on a hermeneutic process of understanding. But the direction was not so clear. First, which hermeneutic theory? Was I trying to uncover layers of meaning as Dilthey would suggest, namely by staying outside the text using a form of Cartesian logic [94]? I was certainly not working with eminent texts in the biblical tradition. Or was I trying to study the nature of 'being-in-the-world of migration' – a Heidegerrian approach? Heidegger's discussion on human ties to history suggests that there is an 'inauthentic' and an 'authentic' being-in-the-world, which in this study is called an 'unselfconscious' and a 'self-conscious' existence. The ways in which the focus groups were structured in the horizontal journey brought out aspects of 'unselfconscious' being-in-the-world.

In contrast, Heidegger calls an 'authentic' existence one which is free of 'lostness'. This is not a state of being outside the world we occupy. Instead it is closely engaged with understanding. '*The authentic individual grasps the cultural past as a heritage…a shared or communal destiny* [95]. Heidegger describes the relation of the authentic individual to the past in terms of 'retrieval' and 'repetition' – an openness to the possibilities this holds. He suggests there is an embeddedness in history and we are always choosing from the range of cultural possibilities within our cultural background.

By interpreting interactive and in-depth discussions about culture and place, it is possible to see different perceptions of heritage. In some cases this evolves out of everyday life, in other cases it is the continuity of ancient cultural myths, expressions of which become altered in the new country. In this study the hermeneutic process became a group process, designed as formalised steps which employ the hermeneutic circle[96]. By moving around the continuous circle of interrogation where understanding parts enables understanding of the whole, further facilitating understanding of the parts, a sense of coherence and depth emerges. In this work, the 'hermeneutic circle' allows different facets of phenomena to be linked, thus generating both inter-penetration and layered meanings. For such analyses, analogies, metaphors and tropes play a key role.

Metaphors can be most effective when they appear incongruous. As Geertz points out, metaphor has '*a stratification of meaning, in which an incongruity of sense on one level, produces an influx of significance on another*'[97]. By engaging analytically with metaphors one can uncover significant meanings, particularly in a discursive environment where statements can be questioned.

Clearly the nature of the discursive environment becomes paramount. Given the subtlety of the issues involved, it was considered legitimate to build on familiarity with the project

by using one of the discussion groups used in the comparative study. The Greek group was not considered appropriate because there were language difficulties for some of the elderly members. It was decided not to use the Vietnamese group because the settling process has not yet become '*time thickened*'[98]. Thus through a process of elimination, the Lebanese group was deemed suitable, providing cohesion, familiarity with the concepts and the added advantage of working across generations. This was possible because the extended family structure allowed the inclusion of some non-English speaking parents in the group. In keeping with the desire to engage with subjective and reflective responses, meetings were held in one of the homes of the group; a location which was more comfortable for the non-English speaking parents and also allowed the women who had young children to participate in the group discussions. But most significantly, it encouraged ownership of the project by all participants. To embed this ownership, an older member of the group was appointed leader of the project. He was provided with a 'guide' indicating the objectives of each meeting and a set of discussion points around which to structure meetings. The shift in ownership of the project was a significant development from procedures used in the comparative study where the researcher had been in control of the process and carried some degree of authority as the 'expert'.

A particularly fascinating aspect of this work related to how unselfconscious actions, drawn from many centuries of cultural practice, intersect with a new culture. To render such unselfconscious actions explicit required a new set of discussions which allowed for understanding to unfold with time. As Herda points out '*Human understanding is circular…Understanding does not take place in a culminated achievement but is an unfolding in time*'[99]. Based on the specific fields of knowledge needed for hermeneutic analyses in this study, four meetings were designed, each intended to deepen interpretations but also to provide multiple ways of seeing.

The Discussion Sequence[100]

Meeting One: Understanding Heritage Concepts
Meeting Two: Mapping

In the following discourse analyses the key points emerging from the meetings were considered, first as simple dialogue, then in terms of layers of significance. As well the meetings were examined as 'reflections-in and on-action'[101]. Thus there are two processes happening, one the interpretation of Lebanese heritage in Australia, the other a critical review-in-action of the effectiveness of the process. In both situations, the

research is carried out by a team, the researcher and members of the migrant group. Their role as researchers will become evident in their reflective conversations.

Meeting One: Understanding Heritage Concepts

Understanding the concept of heritage is already complex[102]. Research shows that values of heritage and place are often conflated with concepts of culture and identity and that most Australian heritage theory has Eurocentric biases[103]. Thus if cross-cultural examples are introduced into an already hazy set of values, it becomes essential to identify the specific cultural context within which heritage concepts are located. The structure of the meetings was intended to provide a range of ways of seeing however, although the discussions facilitated broad conceptual awareness, they also opened up the thorny issue of essentialising cultures in order to elicit values. As a cautionary note, this needs to be recognised and acknowledged.

Understanding Lebanese Cultural Heritage

Discussions about the special heritage of Lebanon revealed two categories, both related to places; those places remembered as part of their everyday life in Lebanon and places embodying appropriately 'noble' heritage qualities.

Heritage as Everyday Places in Lebanon

Using only a few examples of places discussed, the places reveal how closely they are integrated with life in the Lebanese landscape and as a result are less able to be directly translocated to the new country. Sam explained the significance of the 'coffee houses' as,

> … *the value of these men's 'coffees'* [houses] *is that they are very simple - very humble - everyone can go and they play traditional -very, very old games ... There is a 'coffee' in Tripoli that I would like to be considered heritage. This is very old ... it goes back to the Ottoman Empire*[104]

For Sam, heritage places needed to be old and have significant history. In trying to explain the significance of the coffee houses, the group drew an analogy with the 'Aussie pub' where men relax after work. The trope 'Aussie pub' provides an insight into the cultural benchmarks the group used for everyday places in Australia.

Aspects of everyday life were often gender-specific. The women in the group spoke about the small market-gardens within the city of Tripoli where chickpeas were grown. Inaam explained,

> … *one of the things I would like to see kept as heritage in Lebanon is something they don't have here. We lived in high-rise apartments and behind us there was this land where they used to grow the chickpeas* [for humus]*. ... People used to go and pick them themselves ... it was like a market-garden and the kids and parents used to go in the afternoon. ... It was very exciting, different.*[105]

Valued places were also age-specific. Memories of a child's life growing up in large apartments are revealed by Fred's evocative story, '*…the caves ... we lived in apartments and we were not allowed to have dogs or cats ... so we would get a puppy and put it in the*

cave and feed it cream ... we used to go to the cave and play with the puppies' [106]. One can almost hear the Jungian archetypes in these unselfconscious reflections about everyday life in a city of high-rise apartment blocks. These are clear examples of 'empathetic insideness' or an emotional involvement with place[107].

Heritage as Lebanese Cultural Inheritance

Because of the strategic location of Lebanon on the Mediterranean Sea, many of the places described evoked the sense of ancient traditions which go back to the Crusades or Infidels and other cross-cultural influences. Inaam left Tripoli aged nine. As she grew up in Australia, she was constantly drawn to the image of the 'fort' on Lebanese money. She explained,

> *… it was printed on the Lebanese money… I said to my husband, I would really love to go and see this place and he took me ... It was absolutely beautiful. To me that is the heritage. Coffee lounges and things like that, they are sort of common; but with the Fort, it is very rare* [108]

For Inaam, heritage places needed to be noble and rare echoing traditional concepts of heritage derived from antiquarianism and connoisseurship. Sam, however, saw heritage value in the meanings places carried. He described the Port of Tripoli as having heritage significance because,

> *… the Port is a place for us because this is where we departed Tripoli. It is also a place which had very historical periods. When we have wars, the Port is all the paths to escape and when there is peace* …[it is] *the place people go to another island* [for pleasure] [109]

Places of departure and arrival, evoke strong significance in the migration experience. Description of changing meanings associated with the Port show how some places are layered with meaning including symbolic meanings. The combination of everyday places with historic and spiritual places and the way their significance is described can be used to inform an emerging 'language' for migrant heritage places. Analogies between Lebanon and Australia bring out many issues about living in an 'old country' compared with values in a 'new country'.

Reflections-on-Action

The key to this hermeneutic procedure is that everyone is engaged in the research process. Instead of the traditional hermeneutic approach where researchers work with completed texts, the vertical journey seeks to show the interactive and iterative process of working with spoken 'text' as a form of 'reflection-in-action'. Reflecting on the effectiveness of the process, it is noted that the group avoided the opening question 'What is the special heritage of Lebanon?' preferring to engage in remembering special places in Lebanon, the second question. It is interesting that the opening question did not engage them because the Greek and Vietnamese groups had no difficulty articulating concepts of heritage not related to place. Most of the Lebanese group were young when they left their country which could explain their initial hesitation to expound on Lebanese heritage.

Lebanese Heritage in Australia

Having set the context for perceptions of heritage by considering what was valuable in their home country, the group was then asked to focus on migrating to Australia, and how they saw the new place 'through Lebanese eyes.' The question was designed to assist the group to reflect further about culturally specific ways of seeing.

Inaam was drawn to the implications and significance of 'seeing the world through Lebanese eyes'. She mused thoughtfully,

> … *I just can't think off the top of my head, I have to think about it* [more] *because you are in two different cultures - you have to sort of adjust to one or other to be able to give the right answer. I am trying to forget there and be myself here, so that I can tell you what I think of here. Because here, the way of living is completely different to the way of living there* [110]

This evocative description of her state of transition echoes some of the comments made by individuals in the comparative study. Sam confirmed Inaam's thoughts, adding concerns already expressed by the Greek group. He commented,

> *This question raises the point - are you loyal to your culture as Lebanese or do you become different? As Lebanese you have the values of your family, your values as a man or woman. But you come to Australia and you find it is your life, because after the years, you get familiar with this society, to this way of living. So after years, you are becoming Australians and this is the hard part* [111]

The phrase 'this is the hard part' implies both a sense of loss as well as the difficulty of being able to sustain a Lebanese world-view. He explained '*This question is not easy – we, as individuals, all have different ideas and experiences of how we understand the Lebanese personality and what we see through Lebanese eyes.*'[112] It is clear that Sam is aware of the problem of essentializing concepts.

Reflecting-in and on-Action

During the opening meeting, the group consistently reflected with the researcher about the process. In part, this was attributable to the shift in ownership of the project but it was also related to the fact that the group fully comprehended the research question. This confirms the value of inter-subjectivity in this research, namely, where the researcher, through empathy, seeks to understand the group, and the group is engaged in understanding the research. This interpersonal knowing transcends the gulf between 'insider' and 'outsider'.

The group constantly reviewed whether the process was achieving the goals. They assumed responsibility for the process by initiating discussions about the relevant language to be used, in particular the use of 'big words' when many Lebanese in Australia had been unable to complete school. They also commented on the time needed to reflect on some of the issues and the importance of recognising variations within any one migrant group. They explained that for the Lebanese, there were different cultural groups in different locations in Sydney.

At other times, the group responded in a highly analytic mode, using analogies, tropes and metaphors to explain phenomena such as coffee houses being compared with the role of the Australian pub. Similarly, when describing a particular place in Lebanon, the Koshida Cave, they compared it with Jenolan Caves in NSW to ensure that the experiential qualities were understood. They also related certain cultural activities, such as the sacrificial killing of sheep to ensure the health of an ailing child, with an Australian practice of throwing money into wishing pools. Thus by actively seeking to ensure that the researcher understood, they were taking on the role of experts in their field, namely, the knowledge of the phenomenon of 'being Lebanese'.

Contextualizing the Australian -Lebanese.

The next phase in this journey was to contextualize the Australian-Lebanese by bringing out the seamless presence of the Lebanese in Australia. This was achieved by encouraging the group to reflect on stories about the Lebanese who came before them. A further prompt was given by encouraging the group to discuss special Lebanese people in Australia. Through this process, it was hoped that the group would see the value of anecdotes as a way of revealing collective memories thus determining social heritage significance [113].

Early Australian-Lebanese History

The group considered the different Australian-Lebanese written histories were able to supply adequate contextual information, so they did not answer the historical questions explicitly. Instead, in general discussions about earlier migrants, some valuable insights into the experience of migration emerged. These were the significance of special food given to travellers for the long journey by boat, the translocation of traditional village ways of trading, and the contrast between difficult experiences of earlier migrants with those who came later.

Ali described the significance of food from the homeland indicating,

> *…when they used to come …the Mums and Dads used to give them a supporting life on the early trip via Alexandria through the Suez Canal … one of them is 'shangleish'* [the cheese] *and the other is oregano.* [114]

The metaphor 'supporting life' applied to special food given to the traveller is a symbol of family love. Likewise the trope 'Mums and Dads' implies the care and concern felt for migrants as they embarked on the journey. One can imagine the distress when customs threw these gifts away.

Special People

Discussions about special people revealed different frames of reference between the researcher and the group. I, the researcher, anticipated that they would talk about the Australian-Lebanese writer, David Malouf, however they did not mention him. Instead they spoke of the Dahdah family because they '*owned the Penrith Panthers* [a football team]'[115]. Content analyses of discussions highlighted that particular Lebanese families such as the Abboud, Gazal, Mansours, Scarfs, Dahdah, and Moubarak families were

'special' Lebanese people. Interestingly all these families were successful in the textile industry. They had established textile and clothing factories and associated retail outlets. The group suggested reasons for the Lebanese success in the clothing manufacture area could possibly be traced back to early traditions of silk production, but also to travelling traders who carried fabrics to Lebanese villages, a practice they continued as migrants.

According to the group, trading traditions, described by Sam as '*the Phoenician trading tradition'*, [116] were continued in Australia by early Lebanese migrants, such as the Mansour and Scarf families, who started trading as 'hawkers' in country areas in the early 1900s [117]. The 'Phoenician trading tradition' is a trope heavily laden with multiple meanings. It implies ancient connections with the sea as well as exotic Middle East trade in spices and silks. Reflecting on this significance, Sam recognised the depth of cultural meaning embedded in this expression. He said,

> *…one thing I would like to tell you – maybe deeper than history – is that in Lebanon, all the mountains used to be very famous in silk production – many thousands of years – and all of the areas were covered by blackberry [mulberry] trees – and the Lebanese – 2000 years ago, they discovered the dyes – the dark red colour. They used to dye the silk and they were the first in the Mediterranean* [118]

Reflections-on-Action

The recognition that there are phenomena that are 'deeper than history' raises intriguing hermeneutic possibilities. The heritage implications opened up by the discussion of 'special people', namely linking the current Lebanese involvement with textile and clothing manufacture with Lebanese silk heritage and Phoenician trading traditions, confirms the value of open-ended discussion. Hermeneutically it was possible to determine how these places had distinct Lebanese significance, rather than merely expressions of migration. Whichever hermeneutic approach, fields of knowledge within which interpretations can be located and substantiated are required. Heritage theory, place theories, Lebanese history, migration studies all informed this hermeneutic interpretation.

Hermeneutic Reading of an Historically Valued Place.

The aspect of Australian-Lebanese heritage, namely translocating the 'Phoenician trading tradition' to Australia and its transformation from the early 'hawkers' working in Australian country areas, to drapery shops in country towns and ultimately to the successful factories and retail outlets associated with heavy duty textile and clothing manufacture, was not easily addressed within the current heritage assessment procedures.

Valle and Halling discuss the process of transformations in qualitative interpretations. Their observations provide insights into hermeneutic processes involved in moving from a trope, '*the Phoenician trading tradition'*, to identifying places which embody this meaning in a new country. They suggest that this is accomplished by two processes, 'reflection and imaginative variation' [119]. Reflection involves immersion in the concept, a process already clearly demonstrated. Imaginative variation requires that the researcher intentionally alter the meaning through imagination and analogy. Thus by

intentionally altering the meaning of 'hawking' to 'Phoenician trading tradition', a cultural connection could be made between ancient cultural myths and contemporary everyday life in a new country.

Despite this, the group, as Lebanese, struggled with the concept of a factory being a Lebanese heritage place. The group finally suggested that there should be an extra criterion of heritage significance for migrant places. Ali suggested it should be a place which reflected '*pride and success'* [120] a concept which was strongly endorsed by the group. Because of the uncertainty about which place to nominate for this aspect of Lebanese heritage, it was agreed that I, as prime researcher, would consult an accepted leader of the Lebanese community whose family had been in Australia since the 1920s. He confirmed that the interpretations of Australian-Lebanese heritage by the group were correct and that the site of the first Lebanese clothing factory was in Redfern and would be appropriate for nomination. This was the Stanton Melick Warehouse Site, Elizabeth St, Redfern.

Thus my vertical journey included finding a 'language' to interpret migrant heritage by addressing three issues; the use of hermeneutics in migrant studies, inter-cultural understandings of heritage and the development of an effective process to reveal the many layers of meaning involved in the experience of migration.

Hermeneutics is an art and skill as well as the theory of interpretations. In the process I have described, perceptions and meanings can shift as migrants move from one culture to another, but also ways of seeing can remain culturally specific. This state of 'betweenness' is part of the 'language' needed to interpret migrant places. It is here that one can unravel the complexity of the experience of migration and the way this is manifest in certain places.

Conclusion

In this paper I have been trying to address two research areas, one understanding place and two, understanding the inter-culturalism involved when the experience of migration intersects with place. Both research areas result in the richest outcomes when hybrid forms of qualitative research are used.

I have presented this paper in three parts. In the first part, I have tried to show that interpretations about inter-culturalism and place must engage with some slippery scenarios, such as cultural hybridity, existing in the thirdspace of liminality, blurred boundaries and slippage between the more commonly accepted as mainstream and marginal. I have also suggested that contemporary psychoanalytic theories can provide insights into how to work with metaphors and tropes. Understanding place inter-culturally means that researchers have to engage with the subjective – often an uncomfortable state for researchers. My current research is focused on the thirdspace of art and design and how inter-culturalism in the second generation, the children of migrants, is evident in the designed space of Australian cities.

In the second part, I have used a research project undertaken in the early 1990s to demonstrate some intercultural dimensions of place using a relatively conventional qualitative research method. However I suggest that this only provides the surface layer of understanding and that one can delve more deeply.

In the third part, I demonstrate that metaphors and tropes can provide clues to deeper layers of meaning. I also show that in intercultural research, key participants in the research journey are members of the different cultural groups.

The use of hermeneutics in research ensure that the process of understanding and interpretation is never ending, nevertheless, to bring this inter-cultural journey to a resting place, I would like to re-iterate that inter-cultural explorations of place are complex and require research approaches that are open and allow for multiple ways of seeing. The value of subjectivity has to travel beside objectivity and both journeys are rigorous**.** The direction of travel needs to be as wide as it is deep and the issues of translation need to include creative interpretations of tropes and metaphors. Finally, in cross-cultural work, I strongly recommend including members of the different cultural groups as part of the research team.

Endnotes

1. For discussions on Thirdspace see Bhabha 1990; Soja, 1996
2. for discussion on place and space see Altman & Low, 1992; Malpas 1999.
3. Relph, 1976, provides a clear discussion on the different emotive enagements with place.
4. For mystical discussions about place see Norberg-Schulz, 1980, Schama, 1995.
5. The title is taken from Papastergiades, 2000, who provides a strong discussion about recent migration issues.
6. See Armstrong, 2001, and Armstrong, O'Hare, Sim (eds) 2001 for an analysis of contested values related to cultural landscapes.
7. Sauer, 1925 is one of the founders of cultural landscape studies.
8. For discussions on the interpretation of landscape see Cosgrove & Daniels, 1988, Lowenthal, 1996
9. for discussions on 'genuis loci' and 'the sublime' see Andrews, 1999, Norberg-Schulz, 1980
10 see Heidegger, 1953
11. see Malpas, 1999:6
12. see Bourdieu, 1990, Habermas, 1989, Ricouer, 1988, Lefebvre, 1991, Relph,1976
13. see Heidegger, 1953, "Building Dwelling Thinking" and Bourdieu (1990) discussion about 'habitus'.
14.Sudjic, 1992, Zukin, 1995
15. Herda 1999:79
16. see Jung,1983, also Gelder & Jacobs, 1998, and Vidler, 1992, for discussions about 'uncanny'.
17. see Jellico 1963, 1983
18. see Thompson 1999, for discussions about Jellico.
19. see Greenbie, 1981 and Kaplan & Kaplan, 1978
20. see Gelder & Jacobs, 1998, Vidler, 1992; Elliott, 2002 and Kristeva, 1991,for discussion about psychoanalytic theory.
21.Bhabha, 1990 also referred to by Elliott,2002:59,
22. Gadamer, 1976, and Gadamer on Art in Herda,1999:60.
23. see Greenbie, 1981 for discussion on 'distemic space as a community of strangers' and Armstrong, 2003 for Locatedness in the Global, Design Brief for Advanced Design Studio, QUT.
24. see Comerio,1990, Schon, 1983.
25. Papastergiades, 2000:5.
26 Papastergiades, 2000:15.
27 Papastergiades, 2000:16.
28. See Papastergiades,2000, and Vidler 1992

29 Papastergiades, 2000:17 and Elliott 2002:59
30. See Soja, 196; Meyer, 1994, 1997.
31. Papastergiades, 2000:19.
32. Papastergiades, 2000:11
33. see Chambers, 1994.
34. Papastergiades, 2000:11
35. Eagles, 1990:6.
36. Papastergiades, 2000:11.
37. Papastergiades,2000:15.
38. Papastergiades,2000:123.
39. Papastergiades,2000:123.
40. Papastergiades,2000:100.
41. Papastergiades,2000:105.
42. Papastergiades,2000:105.
43. Papastergiades,2000:105.
44. Papastergiades,2000:111.
45. Papastergiades,2000:111.
46. Papastergiades,2000:121.
47. See Herda, 1999, for discussion about Heidegger's concept of 'throwness'.
48. Herda,1999:61.
49. Herda,1999:47.
50. Papastergiades,2000:127.
51. Papastergiades,2000:128.
52. Papastergiades,2000:131.
53. see Armstrong, 1990.
54. see Armstrong, 1994.
55. Marrickville Heritage Study 1986
56. see Armstrong, 1994
57. Lowenthal,1990:15.
58. see Relph, 1976.
59.Relph,1976:43.
60. see Anderson & Gale,1992.
61. see Armstrong, 2000.
62. see Shields,1991.
63. see Shields, 1991
64. see Relph, 1976.
65. Low,1992:166.
66. see Jupp,1996; Murphy,1993.
67. see Relph,1976.
68. see Said,1978.
69. see Bourdieu,1990 and Shields,1991:32.
70. see Low,1992.
71. see Shields, 1991 and Bourdieu,1990.
72. Elliott,2002:77.
73. see Low, 1992.
74. see Hage, 1998.
75. Armstrong, 2000:165.
76. Armstrong, 2000:166.
77. Chambers, 1994:3.
78. Elden, 2001:14
79. Armstrong,2000:170.
80. see Stallybrass & White,1986
81. Armstrong,2000:170.
82. see Murphy,1993.
83. Armstrong,2000:172.
84. Hoffmann,1987:105.

85. Elliott,2002:70.
86. Armstrong,2000:173.
87. Pratt,1998:27.
88. Armstrong,2000:174.
89. Rodiquez,1983:28.
90. Kaplan,1994:63.
91. Armstrong,2000:175.
92. Herda 1999:19.
93. Herda, 1999:46.
94. Herda, 1999:52.
95. Dreyfus & Hall,1992:10-11.
96. see Kvale,1983; Patton,1990, Snodgrass,1997.
97. Geertz, 1973:210 as cited in Herda, 1999:30.
98. see Geertz,1973.
99. Herda, 1999:57.
100. Armstrong,2000:227.
101. see Schon,1983.
102. see Lowenthal,1996.
103. see Armstrong,1989.
104. Armstrong,2000:229.
105. Armstrong,2000:229.
106. Armstrong,2000:230.
107. see Relph,1976.
108. Armstrong,2000:230.
109. Armstrong,2000:232.
110. Armstrong,2000:232.
111. Armstrong,2000:233.
112. see Connerton,1989 and Johnston,1992.
113. Armstrong,2000:237.
115. Armstrong 2000:238.
116. Armstrong,2000:239.
117. see Batrouney,1985.
118. Armstrong,2000:239.
119 Valle & Halling,1989:55.
120. Armstrong 2000:262.

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